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NARRATIVE OF JOHN HECKEWELDER'S JOURNEY  
TO THE WABASH IN 1792.

(Continued from Vol. XI. page 475.)

On the morning of the 26<sup>th</sup> of June, Gen. Putnam and I at last proceeded on our journey down the Ohio. In our vessel manned by nine men, there were several gentlemen, passengers to Gallipolis. We landed at Belleprée, visited friends and saw the beautiful new settlement. This colony consists, as was mentioned before, of three stations or fortifications, about a mile and a half distant from each other, situated on a bluff of the Ohio about sixty feet high. The upper one named Stone's Station<sup>1</sup> lies directly above the Little Kanawa River, where there is also a small settlement of Virginians. Here there is a beautiful island, four miles long.<sup>2</sup> The soil in this neighborhood is remarkably fertile, and inhabitants as well as cattle show plainly that they are living in a goodly land. We spent the night with Major [Nathan] Goodale at the lower station. Soon after we had started on the morning of the 27<sup>th</sup> and had passed by one of the dwellings destroyed by the Indians, we saw two hostile Indians. When they discovered us, they attempted to conceal themselves among the high weeds. At noon we rode by many neglected farms. In the evening at 9 o'clock we reached the Great Kanawa, formerly called New River. This is the spot where in 1774, Col. Lewis had a severe engagement with the Shawanese in which the latter were totally defeated. The Virginian government gave Col. Lewis, as acknowledgment of his services, a grant of 9000 acres of land on which he has for seven years been laying out a town, now consisting of 30 houses, named Point Pleas-

<sup>1</sup> [It was situated on the Ohio, two miles above Farmer's Castle.]

<sup>2</sup> [Blennerhasset's Island.]

ant. It is very beautifully situated on a high bank. The Kanawa, about as broad as the Lehigh at Bethlehem, flows past the lower part of the town, and then empties into the Ohio. Fifteen miles above this river, there is a spring which burns as soon as it comes in contact with fire. It was discovered by a Virginian hunter, who spent the night near it. At night he went with a lighted torch to get a drink, a spark from the brand fell into the water which immediately rose up in flames and frightened the hunter so dreadfully, that he left in haste. The spring is now visited by many gentlemen travelling down the Ohio, and they tell me, that when it has been set on fire, it usually burns for about three quarters of an hour. It does not however burn down to the ground, but only to the surface of the water. A man who had been scalped and tomahawked<sup>1</sup> by the Indians was found here in the water a few days ago. We rode on this same evening to the French settlement of Gallipolis situated on the North bank of the Ohio between three and four miles from the Kanawa. Here we spent the whole of the following day in visiting the skilled workmen and the gardens laid out in European style. The most interesting shops of the workmen were those of the goldsmiths and watchmakers. They showed us work on watches, compasses and sun-dials, finer than any I had ever beheld. Next in interest were the sculptors and stonecutters. The latter had two finished mantles, most artistically carved. Gen. Putnam at once purchased one of them for 12 Guineas, the other was intended for a rich Dutch gentleman who has built a two-story house here, 50 ft. long. The upper part of a mantle was lying there, ordered by a Spanish gentleman in New Orleans,<sup>2</sup> which because of the fine workmanship upon it,

<sup>1</sup> I presume that my readers are aware of the fact that, the savages of North America carry home as a trophy of war, the front head skin, called scalp, of their defeated foes. Tomahawk means in their language an axe with which they cut down their foes or prisoners or those who are unable to proceed on their homeward march.

<sup>2</sup> New Orleans is the capital of the Spanish province of Louisiana situated at the mouth of the Mississippi. This river forms the boundary line between the Free States and the Spanish province. The Ohio, on

was to cost 20 or 22 guineas. The worker in glass, seemed to be a born artist. He made us a thermometer, a barometer, a glass tobacco-pipe, a small bottle (which could contain about a thimble full) and a most diminutive stopper, and a number of works of art besides. He also manufactured precious medicine, nitric acid, etc. As we were on a journey and were in daily need of light and fire, he presented us with a glass full of dry stuff, which burns as soon as a match is applied. This stuff he told us was manufactured from bones. Concerning the fine gardens I must add the following, viz: that in them were to be found the most beautiful flowers, artichokes, and almond trees, and besides many fine vineyards, and some rice fields. At a distance of about 100 steps from the Ohio, there is a round hill which probably dates its origin, from the former inhabitants of this land as also the remarkable fortifications and buildings to be found in this country. This hill about 30 ft high, has been improved as a beautiful pleasure garden, with a pretty summer-house on the top. The town of Gallipolis consists of 150 dwellings. The inhabitants number between 3 and 400. A detachment of from 50 to 60 men of the regular army is stationed here for their protection. Besides a few Virginia spies or scouts, are kept and paid by the government. The militia are also willing to serve for remuneration. The Chikemage Creek flows back of the town, and below it empties into the Ohio. Fine boats are also manufactured in this town; our vessel is one of them. At noon we dined with the most prominent French gentlemen of the place, at the house of the judge and doctor, Mr Petit. Among the officers who were there as guests, there was one, by the name of Dimler, who told me, that he was a friend of the family E . . . . and that to the best of his knowledge, he had friends in Bethlehem.

Early on the morning of the 29<sup>th</sup> a new bark canoe passed

whose banks Gallipolis is situated, empties into the Mississippi, and is navigated by the inhabitants. There is therefore considerable trade carried on with the Spanish inhabitants of Kentucky and several settlements along the Ohio.

along the banks, a sign that Indians must be in the neighborhood, who had returned from the war beyond the Ohio. We started from here at 5 o'clock in the morning, and crossed the Gyandotte, a river which empties into the Ohio on the Virginia shore. Wild turkeys and deer were seen in great numbers on the banks of the Ohio. At half-past five in the afternoon, we crossed the Big Sandy, a very beautiful river emptying into the Ohio from the South, and forming the boundary line between Virginia and Kentucky. Here we found frequent traces of buffaloes along the river-bank. We left our boat float the whole night on the river, not without a guard, however, for now we were obliged to pass the most dangerous point, viz., the Sciota. For several years many passing Kentucky boats had been attacked and seized by the enemy; the Indians having provided themselves with boats in order to make their attack. It is said that within two years about 150 people have either lost their lives or been led into captivity from this place. We were fortunate enough to be enveloped in a dense fog during the whole night until 9 o'clock the next morning, so that when it had dispersed we found ourselves eight miles below the Sciota river.

The whole stretch of land on both sides of the Ohio, yesterday and to-day, was very pleasing to the eye. There were many round hills frequently covered by chestnut trees, and as they were now in blossom, they added greatly to the beauty of the landscape. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon, we discovered a Kentucky boat at a place from which we could conclude that it had been taken there by the Indians some time ago. Soon after we reached the three Sandy Islands (a passage of the Indians to Kentucky) where we met a few white scouts, who had gone out to reconnoitre. We arrived at Mercer's station at 4 o'clock (the latest maps call the place Massey's Town) on the north bank of the Ohio, where there are about 30 families in a fort. Here there is an island in the Ohio, two miles long, almost entirely covered with Indian corn. From this point we met Kentuckians both on the river and land, who had gone out either to

hunt or fish, or for other occupations. When we reached Limestone,<sup>1</sup> at 6 o'clock in the evening, where we took our supper, we observed this class of people and their peculiar mode of life, with astonishment. This place is in a manner the entrance to Kentucky where most boats (or all boats going to the waterfalls of the Ohio) land, unload and continue overland on their journey to the more inhabited neighborhoods and places, like Washington, Lexington, etc. The inhabitants of this town live in idleness and poverty, and for support depend upon what they can lay hold of from the travellers to whom they occasionally lend assistance when in difficulty. I counted 56 large millstones lying around on the banks ready to be taken away by the owners. The town stands on a bluff 70 feet high on the south side of the Ohio. At 9 o'clock in the evening we started, and left the boat glide down with the current; a slight contrary wind blowing, and the current not being strong, we only made 12 miles through the night, to a station in Kentucky, where we breakfasted. The whole region, from Limestone down for twenty miles, is inhabited on the south side by Kentuckians. At 8 o'clock we arrived at the Ten-Mile Reach, so called, because the Ohio flows a straight distance of ten miles, with flat low banks on both sides, and it would appear, as if this were its mouth. In the evening at 5 we passed the town of Columbia, and took up our quarters with Major [Benjamin] Stites. This man who is from Jersey has purchased a tract of 20,000 acres from Judge Symmes<sup>2</sup> and has laid out a town upon it. The lots which are a half acre in size are sold at 7 sh. 6 d., and those situated outside of the town, belonging to it, 5 acres in size, amount to as much. The town is situated on the Little Miami and Ohio. On the former there is a ship-mill. There are many well built houses, and the town is finely situated. The present number of inhabitants exceeds 1100. They are provided with two Baptist preach-

[<sup>1</sup> Maysville.]

[<sup>2</sup> John Cleves Symmes, who, in 1788, was appointed judge for the North West Territory.]

ers,<sup>1</sup> Smith and Clark. Judge Goforth whom we visited, also resides here. The only disadvantage of this place is, that part of the land is inundated by high water. Walnut and Locust trees cover a great portion of it. Two military posts have been erected several miles behind the town as protection to the neighborhood.

On the 2<sup>d</sup> of July, after breakfast, we left Columbia and reached the town of Cincinnati at 9 o'clock. Fort Washington is situated there, and Gen. Putnam was greeted upon his arrival by a salute of 9 cannon shots. Lodgings were assigned to me with Gen. Putnam in Fort Washington, but I declined and went to a landlord in the town, by the name of Martin, formerly from Sussex County, New Jersey. After having rested a little Gen. Putnam and I visited the 56 Indian women and children, prisoners in the stockade from the Eel River<sup>2</sup> and Wawiachtenos Nations, brought captive a year ago by Gen. [Charles] Scott and [James] Wilkinson from Kentucky. Putnam told them that they would soon be released, and that in a few days he would rejoice their hearts, whereupon they expressed themselves very gratefully. About 1 o'clock in the afternoon, Gen. Wilkinson, the Commandant, arrived here; a week ago he had visited the forts as far as Jefferson,<sup>3</sup> with a company of Kentucky militia. He brought the sad intelligence that about 100 warriors, on the day before his arrival, had sur-

<sup>1</sup> The doctrines of this religious party, so numerous in the American Free States, are contained in the 5th Vol. page 258 etc. of this selection.

<sup>2</sup> The Eel river flows in an unexplored region of the Western Territory, 41° North Latitude. It, with other tributaries forms the Wabash. During the late war this part of the country became better known by scouting parties, who coming from Kentucky, destroyed the dwellings of the Indians.

<sup>3</sup> Jefferson is the present name for the most northern Fort in the northwestern territory of the Free States. It is situated on the west bank of the Miami. A line of forts extend from Fort Washington on the Ohio to Jefferson in order to protect the new settlers of this fruitful land against the savages. The situation of these forts is clearly given, on the map of the Western territory of North America which Imlay has added to his description of this region of country. This map also shows plainly Mr. Heckewelder's travelling route.

prised a guard of 14 men, placed there to watch a band of workmen. The Indians had either killed them all, or taken them captive. If we consider that this unfortunate day was the one appointed by Gen. Putnam for his negotiations with the hostile Indians in Fort Jefferson, and that our messages had been delivered promptly and in good time, one can easily conclude, that this expedition had been directed against us, and that their intention was to give us an answer, by aiming a tomahawk at our heads. General Putnam's instructions were to travel on direct to Fort Jefferson, and tarry there until the return of the messengers of peace, in order to receive their answer and await the Mohican Indian, Capt. Hendricks. He concluded however to depart from these instructions, and remain until he could learn how the messengers of peace had fared.

On the 3<sup>d</sup> Messrs. Vanderburgh, Vigo and Beard arrived here from Post-Vincennes. Five men and one woman came with them, from the Wawiahtenos Nation accompanied by a guard and their errand was, to seek and help to take away their captive friends. This fact was made known to the prisoners before night, the guard within the stockade was called away, and the gate opened, but for the safety of the prisoners, a guard was placed outside of it. It was touching to witness the loud outbursts of weeping when relatives met. The gentlemen from Vincennes mentioned above, brought the tidings that the Indians from their neighborhood had declared that the three messengers of peace, Trueman, Freeman and Hardin<sup>1</sup> had been murdered by hostile Indians, and that their papers and belts<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [They were released from captivity after the defeat of the Indians by General Wayne at Fallen Timbers.]

<sup>2</sup> Upon the occasion of an agreement or treaty of peace it was customary for the messengers of peace, to begin their proposals by the presentation of several belts of Wampum. This Wampum is a girdle consisting of different strings upon which bright shells have been strung. It is composed of four, six or more strands of this kind, is three or four fingers wide, and several feet long. Important treaties are ratified by the presentation of this belt, as well among Europeans as among Indians.

had been seen in the villages of the savages. On July 4<sup>th</sup>, the anniversary of the independence of the United States, 15 cannon shots were fired in the morning at six o'clock, and again at noon, while the assembled officers were dining; and in the evening as a close of the day. All salutes were fired from a six pounder. Judge Symmes had come to attend this festival from North Bend, 15 miles down the Ohio, where he owns an estate.

I spent my time on the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> taking walks and viewing the town. The well known Col. Menzies,<sup>1</sup> Inspector of the troops in the service of the United States, and Lawyer Smith, visited me in turns. The town of Cincinnati was laid out by Judge Symmes. He was formerly judge in New Jersey, and at present fills the same office in the Western Territory, northwest of the Ohio river. A few years ago he purchased from Congress, the whole tract of land, lying between the Big and Little Miami, as far as the Ohio river, and about 30 miles north of the two named rivers. The ground upon which the town stands, is a plain along the Ohio about two miles long, and extending northward seven miles along the road. The town is in a manner divided into two parts, as one, or a second shore of the Ohio is 140 perches from the real banks of the Ohio. Each of these banks is 40 ft. high, and on account of its situation or straight line, very pleasant to the eye. What lies below this second bank, is called the lower town; the upper town is however connected with the lower one. At present there are 354 surveyed lots purchased and used for building purposes. Four acres outside of the town, belong to every lot within the town. The price of the lots was at first from four to eight dollars per lot, and twenty dollars an acre for the lots outside of the town. The rush is however so great at present, that lots are being sold at from \$30 to \$60 cash, from the second purchaser. More than 200 houses have been built, many of which are two stories high, well-built and painted red. They command a rent of from 50 to 60 dollars per year.

<sup>1</sup> [Menzies.]

In the centre of the upper town, there are two large squares, the one intended for a Court House, and the other for a Church. On the latter a fine Church is being built, and under roof. The streets of the town are everywhere four perches wide. All the lots which have been surveyed are enclosed with good posts and Indian corn, wheat, oats, barley, millet, potatoes and turnips are cultivated in them. There are eight open roads leading from East to West, and six from South to North, pleasant for walking, there being no obstacles in the way, on the one road for  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile, and on the other for  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile. At the east end of the town, and on the second height, lies Fort Washington, built similar to Campus Martius in Marietta, the roof and palisades on the front are painted red. Near the fort, there are some very fine, large gardens, in which vegetables and fine flowers are cultivated. Tasty summer-houses have been built in them, the most prominent of these belong to Gen. Wilkinson and Dr [Richard] Allison. Just below Fort Washington there are long low buildings forming a square, where the mechanics in the service of the United States army work; it is also a storehouse for provisions. The inhabitants of this city number more than 900, not counting the garrison and its belongings. This does not contain any positive number, but at present consists of about 200 men. The city has its judges and holds regular courts. The military wish to govern, but the city insists upon its rights under the constitution, and in consequence frequent quarrels ensue. The city is overrun with merchants, and overstocked with goods. More than 30 magazines or warehouses can be counted, so that one injures the price of the other. It is a town teeming with idlers, and according to the report of respectable persons, they are a people resembling Sodom. Yet they hope that this place, as well as the others on the north bank of the Ohio, will perhaps in time, or soon, be purged of this wicked class, for experience teaches, that as soon as they are made subject to the law, they leave for Kentucky which lies just across the Ohio, and if they are stopped there, they push on to the extreme boundary along the Clinch or Cumber-

land river, or even down as far as New Orleans. Here I met the wellknown Weisser, who had last year fallen among the conscripts: he participated in the expedition of Nov. 4<sup>th</sup> and was wounded there. He was frightened when he heard that I was from Bethlehem, and acted as a penitent sinner; said, with many tears, that no sin he had committed, lay so heavily upon his conscience and pained him as much, as that one, that he had belied, and deceived the congregation of God. He remarked at the same time, that from that time on he had had no more success in the world, but was obliged to support himself in a troublesome way, with much uneasiness of heart. I merely said to him: "He who can look into the heart, whom no one can deceive, the same is God, a just judge." He answered: "That I must now most powerfully feel." He spoke to me upon another occasion again and begged me to take a letter asking for pardon, along to Bethlehem, but his behaviour was such, that I could not pay any more attention to him. Although, according to the description, this city consists principally of bad inhabitants yet a clergyman resides there. The present one belongs to the Presbyterian church.<sup>1</sup> I was really astonished to find so many, and partly attentive listeners in the Sunday services. What adds to the beauty of the city of Cincinnati, and contributes to its advantages, is the fact, that just opposite, on the south side of the Ohio, the beautiful Licking River (about  $\frac{3}{4}$  as broad as the Lehigh) empties into it. A city has also been located and begun there, which is called New-Port. From the mouth of this river, which flows from a rich inhabited country, a main road leads to Lexington, the capital of Kentucky. They expect that in future a lively traffic from there to this place, and from here down the Mississippi may be carried on. At present two ferries are maintained here, one of them belongs to a German by the name of Pickel, a former inhabitant of the neighborhood of Bethel,<sup>2</sup> and who, as he says, diligently frequented the Brethren's meetings during the time of Till's, Reizen-

<sup>1</sup> [*Query*, Rev. James Kemper.]

<sup>2</sup> [A Moravian congregation in Lancaster, now Lebanon Co., Pa.]

bach's, Huebner's and Schlegel's ministry. This Pickel told me, that he, when he moved down here and was with other Germans from Monongahela in a boat on their way to New Spain, was called a heretic by them, and they sought to take his life, but he escaped. From Pastor Man in Harrodsburg, Kentucky, 60 miles from here, I received almost daily tidings. He is highly spoken of here; he serves two congregations, composed chiefly of Germans, and preaches both English and German.

On the 7<sup>th</sup> at 9 o'clock, A.M. two men, a woman and a large boy, who had gone in a canoe to Columbia were attacked by the Indians about a mile and a half from here. One man was killed and scalped, the other shot through the shoulder, and the boy was carried away prisoner. The woman who from fear, fell into the water was carried down some distance by the stream, reached the land safely and brought the news here. The militia was immediately called to arms to march out, brought in the wounded man, and the body of the dead one. They at once cut out the ball from the former and the wound was declared not dangerous. However the head of the other was dreadfully mangled.

Sunday the 8<sup>th</sup> in the morning the resident minister preached, and in the afternoon a Baptist clergyman from Columbia. The rain which had fallen yesterday and day before, caused the Ohio to rise 11 feet on the 9<sup>th</sup>. The high water enabled several heavily laden Kentucky boats from Pittsburgh to arrive here. As they passed the Sciota, a number of Indians fired into them, they had already entered their canoes in order to take possession of their boats, but three others some distance behind, well armed, fired off their guns. Hereupon the Indians had to give up their intentions for this time. One of these boats had received 12 shots, but no one was hurt.

On the 12<sup>th</sup> William Wells arrived here from Louisville. This Wells was a boy 12 years old who on his way to school, 8 years ago, was taken prisoner by the Eel River Wawiahtenos and afterwards adopted into the family of their Sachem or leader, where he learned their language, became a good

hunter and useful man. He also took part in the engagement of Nov. 4<sup>th</sup>, and gives good, thorough and reliable accounts of all that has happened there, he has made known where the cannons of the Indians lie buried. As his adopted father Gawiahaetle (that is Hedgehog) had given him his freedom this spring and besides allowed him to go wherever he pleased, also to visit his brother in Kentucky; he first went to Post-Vincennes where he found an opportunity to go to his brother in the neighborhood of Louisville. Gen. Putnam being obliged to have an interpreter, and there being no one here who could speak with the prisoners, he sent for Wells, and took him into the service of the United States. Here he found the rest of his adopted relations, his mother and sisters; when they met, they shed many tears.

Early on the 14<sup>th</sup> a special messenger arrived from Fort Jefferson with the news, that two soldiers, one of whom had served in Gen. Harmer's company and the other a prisoner captured by the savages on Nov. 4<sup>th</sup>, when a good distance from the fort, hoeing corn, agreed to desert and successfully carried out their purpose. However the soldiers were taken back on the 15<sup>th</sup> with an escort of light cavalry and were afterwards cross-examined by a judge in presence of Gen. Putnam and put under oath to speak nothing but the truth. They had both been taken prisoner by the Pottowattami tribe, and one of them, a German by the name of Schaefer, could speak the language quite well. According to their reports the Nations wished to hear of no propositions for peace until they saw that all forts and settlements on this side of the Ohio were abandoned and removed. Besides two peace messengers, Trueman and Freeman, had certainly been killed for the Indians had shown them their scalps, clothes, papers and belts, with the remark: "thus we will in future treat all peace messengers and deserters." Of Colonel Hardin they knew nothing further than that they had been told, that he and his companions had met with a similar fate. They gave further news of all the parties that had started out this summer, and said that Simon Girty has been personally present at the last attack upon Fort Jefferson, made by more than

100 Indians. Altogether the reports were found reliable and agreed with what we had already learned. News came to-day from Fort Jefferson that a party of Indians had last night, which had been particularly dark, driven away all the cattle, penned up in the palisades of the fort, and that Indians had been seen every day. From Columbia the news came to-night that about 30 Indians had been there and taken three men captive. A strong company of cavalry was sent in pursuit of them, they followed their trail for 40 miles, but the Indians had entered a swamp and the horses could proceed no farther.

On the 16<sup>th</sup> in the morning the Wawiahtenos Head-chief died suddenly. He was one of those mentioned as having lately come from Post Vincennes. At his funeral on the 17<sup>th</sup>, by order of Gen. Putnam and Wilkinson, every military honor was shown him and three salutes fired over his grave. The majority of Indians followed his remains, one of them carrying a white flag on a long pole, which he afterwards planted at the head of the grave. The procession marched in the best order, accompanied by the most prominent gentlemen of the place. The funeral march was beaten on the drum draped in mourning. They granted him a resting place in the cemetery believing that this might be of advantage to them, among the relatives as well as among the Nation in general. Malicious people dug up the body again at night, tore down the flag and post, threw them into a mud-hole and dragged the body down along the street and stood it up there. The generals had the body buried again immediately in the morning and a flag raised. Governor Winthrop's secretary issued a proclamation offering 100 dollars reward for the discovery of the perpetrators. On the following night however the flag and proclamation were torn down, but the body remained unmolested. For a second time a new flag was raised, a guard placed near by, and nothing further happened. On the 19<sup>th</sup> the chief of the Indians spoke to Gen. Putnam about the release of the prisoners. He wished Putnam to accompany them personally to the Wabash and be-

lieved that if he did this, he would find an opportunity to announce to those Indians the peaceful intentions of the United States. He added that if they were obliged to remain here any longer, they would surely all die, and if they must die, they preferred to die and be buried in their own land. Putnam thereupon answered them that he had postponed their journey for 30 days. On Sunday 22<sup>d</sup> on the parade ground, the verdict was read and executed on a soldier, who had attempted a revolt. He was obliged to run the gauntlet, have his head shaved, a collar put around his neck and in this manner be drummed out of the fort and city. He had formerly been tied to the Wheelbarrow in Philadelphia. At noon young M<sup>r</sup> Stites arrived at Columbia with the news that Indians had again been seen near that city and were followed by the militia.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> by invitation of a Kentucky gentleman I crossed the Ohio to visit him. Fort Washington and Cincinnati present a very pleasant view from this side. On the 28<sup>th</sup> Gen. Wilkinson, with an escort of light cavalry went to his favorite place, Fort Hamilton.

On the 29<sup>th</sup> the Presbyterian minister spoke with earnestness upon the importance of man's conversion. He used this expression among others: "that in this matter we could not speculate, the choice was free to all, without price and merit, to accept grace and thereby to become saved, or remain unsaved, and be eternally lost."

On the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> of August the Ohio rose to such an extent, that on the latter evening it was 12 ft. high. M<sup>r</sup> Clark, a Baptist clergyman, from Columbia preached twice in this church. He described the natural man in his sin and nakedness, showed how necessary it is to be converted and pointed out the path which he must then follow. He praised God's compassion, and directed all sinners to Jesus the crucified one. He also spoke of the fruits of conversion whereby a regenerate person could be recognized. He gave an account of his own conversion and how he had sought and found grace. The clergyman expressed himself very severely about those who regard this matter heedlessly or frivolously

and depicted to them the fire of hell as very dreadful and hot. In regard to the Indian war he said among the rest: "God has placed us here in order to be punished for our sins. For this purpose he makes use even of the heathen and as long as we do not change our course and become converted, this chastisement will continue." He mentioned Nov. 4<sup>th</sup> as an example and related how already under the old dispensation God had made use of the heathen to punish his peculiar people when they had fallen into unbelief, disobedience and idolatry, etc. He also said "I certainly believe that we too are a scourge to the heathen because they do not ask after God." He hoped however that a time might come when all the heathen of this country would seek the only true God and a crucified Saviour and obey and serve Him. As we were coming out of the church, I heard several gentlemen saying to each other: "That man ought to have been torn down and thrown from the pulpit, he wants to declare everything to us as sinful, and yet he had Jesus Christ on his lips, who was nothing more than a carpenter! Had he spoken of God's omnipotence and perhaps given some good moral lessons besides, for example, how men should act towards each other, we would have listened to him, and allowed his sermon to pass, but his whole subject is nothing, he is only a disturber of the peace and a turmoiler etc."

On the 6<sup>th</sup> several people, who wished to go from Columbia to Dunlaps Station on horseback, were attacked by about 15 Indians. One of them was killed and another was wounded.

On the 10<sup>th</sup> a company of 60 men, under the leadership of Captain [William] Peters, who were to act as escort to the Indian prisoners on the journey to the Wabash arrived here.

On the 11<sup>th</sup> four large boats loaded with war supplies arrived from Pittsburgh.

On the 12<sup>th</sup> I went after preaching to dine at a gentleman's house in Kentucky.

On the 13<sup>th</sup> the Indians made attacks at three different places. At Fort St. Clair they shot a soldier through the

hat. At Dunlaps Station they wounded three men, of whom one died. At Fort Hamilton they stole 17 horses, but the owners who belong to the Kentucky militia and are in the service of the United States, followed them up, killed one of them, and brought their horses back again.

On the 14<sup>th</sup> Gen. Wilkinson returned from Fort Hamilton, where he is having a fine house built and will in future take up his residence there. According to all descriptions the country is very beautiful and surrounded by large meadows, on which 2000 tons of hay were cut this year. The Miami that flows by the Fort is said to be full of fish.

On the 16<sup>th</sup> all the Indians who had been prisoners here for more than a year and who, as the mustering officer informed me, had cost the United States \$60,000 accompanied by four other boats and under an escort of 60 men, besides their interpreter Wells, started from here for Post Vincennes.

On the 18<sup>th</sup> Gen. Putnam and I followed in our barge. Capt. Collis and Dr [Samuel] Boyd accompanied us as far as Louisville as passengers. The former had gone in 1786 with brethren from Bethlehem to St. Croix, but has now settled in Kentucky, the latter has just come from Gen. Hand at Lancaster and has consented to accept an appointment in the army. In our company there was also one of the before mentioned Vanderburghs from Post Vincennes, who wishes again to return with us. Seven miles below Cincinnati, we passed a small settlement on the north side of the Ohio, called the South Bend, situated on the land belonging to Symmes. Eight miles farther on we passed North Bend, where there is a small town and larger settlement, belonging to this gentleman, who resides here. It is really surprising to see how the people have settled and cultivated this country, which five years ago was a wilderness. There are between 300 and 400 inhabitants in this neighborhood living partly in the town and partly on the farms. The most singular circumstance is, that for two years they have been troubled with no Indian raids. Judge Symmes, who is looked upon as a father among this people, has by his kind treatment of the Indians, who at first came here very

frequently, gained their friendship, and this has proved a better protection than a regiment of soldiers. Symmes gave me an Indian interpretation of the coat of arms of the United States, namely the eagle, etc. Three years ago a considerable number of Shawanese and Delawares came here to trade. The judge took the chiefs to his house, entertained them hospitably, and gave them presents. During their visit many things were discussed, he showed them amongst the rest the coat of arms of the United States, which he carefully explained. "Well," said a Shawanese captain, "let me also give my explanation, perhaps it will come nearer to the truth than yours. You tell me that every power has its own coat of arms and that this is good and useful. You have told me much of the peaceful intentions of the United States towards the Indians, and you show as a proof this picture. If the United States were such lovers of peace as you describe them to be, they would have chosen for their coat of arms something more appropriate and expressive of it. For example there are many good, innocent birds. There is the dove which would not do harm to the smallest creature. But what is the eagle? He is the largest of all birds and the enemy of all birds. He is proud, because he is conscious of his size and strength. On a tree, as well as in flight he shows his pride and looks down disparagingly upon all the birds. His head, his eyes, his beak and his long brown talons declare his strength and hostility. Now this bird, which is terrible enough in itself you have depicted as even more dreadful and horrible. You have not only put one of the implements of war, a bundle of arrows into one of his talons, and rods in the other, but have painted him in the most fearful manner, and in a position of attack upon his prey. Now tell me, have I not spoken the truth?" Symmes had to agree to his explanation, however, with the remark, that only enemies of the United States were frightened at this position of the eagle. Friends on the contrary, could look upon it as a sign of protection and this protection all the Indians who were friends of the States enjoyed, etc. It is remarkable how at this place, the

beautiful Miami river, which six miles below empties into the Ohio, after wonderful windings of about 15 miles, at last here approaches within  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile of the Ohio. The two Walkers, who two years ago murdered the peaceful Seneca Indians on the Pint creek, still live here. At 2 o'clock P.M. we passed through the great Miami, on the banks of which were wild turkeys and geese in great numbers. We continued two miles farther to Tanner's Station in Kentucky on the south side of the Ohio, where we bought butter and watermelons. We saw deer, bears and wild fowls grazing along the shores of the Ohio. During the night we left our boat drift with the current.

On Sunday the 19<sup>th</sup> at six different times we saw herds of buffaloes grazing on the shore. We put Capt. Collin ashore, who although he had hit one, was not able to follow him any farther, because of the fresh Indian tracks. However, as towards evening sixteen buffaloes, and three buffalo calves showed themselves, our hunter shot a very fat young cow weighing between four and five hundred pounds. Now we had a good supply of meat, and could look upon the rest of the game with indifferent eyes. During the night we again allowed ourselves to float with the current.

On the 20<sup>th</sup> in the early morning, buffaloes and deer were visible. Already at 10 o'clock we had reached the Twelve Mile island, and afterwards the Six Mile island, all thickly overgrown, with the so-called Carolina reed, which covers many swamps of this region. Near the latter island the Kentucky shore is thickly settled. During the afternoon about 3 o'clock we passed Fort Steuben, on the north side of the Ohio, where the Indians had already arrived on the night before with their guard of 60 men. In honor of the general, on our arrival, nine cannonshots were fired and the commandant of this fort, Capt. [Thomas] Doyle, showed himself very kind towards me. He inquired about his relatives in Lancaster and Nazareth, namely the H——s and Jacob Kr——'s family. We all slept under tents, on the banks of the Ohio and were surrounded by sentinels.

On the 21<sup>st</sup> during the morning, Capt. Peters made the

necessary preparations to take our four boats over the falls of the Ohio.<sup>1</sup> After all our baggage had been conveyed across the river and then  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles by wagon to the lower fall. They now tried to pilot down the two Kentucky boats and the two barges. The pilot receives a guinea for each boat. As the water was very low and the channel narrow, it was exceedingly troublesome, and three of our boats ran aground, only one reached there to-day. Every effort was made to float the grounded boats. However to-day they did not succeed and the poor people who were on board, had to pass the night there, wet as they were. The greatest misfortune was, that one of these boats, forty feet long and sixteen feet broad, which had cost 40 Dollars sank during the night. There were two sick Indian women and two soldiers on it, but they saved themselves on the roof of the boat. The commandant of this place an honest good man, was busy already before daybreak, helping the sufferers. He sent a number of strong soldiers with a quantity of ropes to them, which at last towards noon accomplished their purpose and the two barges were safely brought below the falls. The four persons on the stranded boat were also landed with their effects. The poor Indians who had to see and experience all the difficulties and dangers and were at a place where Kentucky fury raged towards them, wept aloud together. As their interpreter had gone ashore to visit his brother, I consoled them as best I could and towards evening brought them back under cover of the cannons at the fort. Here they were out of danger and Capt. Doyle took the best care of them, until at last, they were taken next day to the headquarters of Gen. Putnam on the other side of the Ohio and below the falls, where they seemed to be quite contented. The commissary's three large boats loaded with provisions, intended for us and the troops at Post Vincennes, passed safely and quite unharmed over the waterfalls, so that matters could be arranged and we all had

<sup>1</sup> Imlay has given a correct picture of these waterfalls of the Ohio in his Topographical Description of the Western Territory, page 51. On the same may also be found the city of Louisville, Fort Steuben which is called Fenny there, and the city of Clarkville, consisting of a few houses.

room. There being various matters to be attended to here and Putnam's barge having lost a rudder, we were obliged to wait for several days. During this time, with Capt. Doyle and Lieut. Clark, I carefully examined the falls from all points. The change to this wild stream, appears very surprising, after passing through 750 miles of fine quiet water, namely from Pittsburgh to this place. The falls are indeed remarkable as they have three different channels, each of which distinguishes itself. The one channel on the south side, consists of many steps of smooth and pointed rocks, the middle one shoots down, more like a mill dam, while the one on the north side, is a very rapid, tearing stream, full of large stones. Troublesome and dangerous as it is, to pass over them in low water, when the water is high the passage is made very easily, and without the least danger. The falls themselves consist of a deposit or bed of smooth rocks, that are high and low in spots. In the falls, at low water large and dry rocky banks may be seen, upon which everything which lodges on them is caught and petrified. Walnuts, hickory-nuts, acorns and the shells of the same, branches, deer and buffalo horns, roots, fish skeletons, snails etc. are frequently seen lying on the flat stones, but if an attempt is made to lift them up, they are found to be immovable and petrified. Near the falls on both sides of the shore there are beautiful Lombardy poplars which they here call cottonwood trees. Below the falls, in deep water, large quantities of rockfish are caught. In the summer the falls feed thousands of wild geese, and also the pigs of the inhabitants, which always find dead fish and the like there. The surrounding country is beautiful and level. Although the shores rise to a height of from 60-70 ft they are not precipitous. On the north side, at the upper end of the falls is Fort Steuben in which 60 men, militia, are quartered. On the same side, at the lower end of the falls is Clarkville, a little town on Gen. Clark's land. He received for his former services against the Indians from the state of Virginia a tract of 150,000 acres of land. On the south side of the Ohio and nearly opposite to the falls, lies the city of Louisville on a fine high plateau, which extends

many miles into the country, and is very thickly settled. In the city there are about 150 houses, all of them, with the exception of two, are built of rough wood. The ground on which the city stands, belongs to John Campbell, our former host in Pittsburgh, who also owns not far from there a fine country seat. A French gentleman by the name of Loeke-sang lives here, he has a handsome residence, a very fine garden, with a nursery of 10,000 young and nearly all grafted or inoculated trees. I was invited by this gentleman to dinner, he even offered me a room at his house as long as I remained, but I could not accept of his invitation. I found three former Muskingum merchants, one of whom, Henry Reed, lives in very comfortable circumstances, and has 5 stores at different places in the country. He wished to insist upon my coming to his house, but I remained with my companions, all of whom were encamped in tents below the falls. I only visited friends and acquaintances as I felt disposed. The city of Louisville, with Lexington, is named as the future capital of the Kentucky government, and is to be viewed in three weeks for that purpose by a commission appointed to do so. There are two highways to the rest of the towns in Kentucky from here. The only disadvantage of this place is, that the thick fogs which rise in the autumn from the falls, and cover it, produce fever, and this is very much against the growth of the place. The raids which the hostile warriors made, during our stay here, carrying off negroes and horses, caused us much anxiety on account of the safety of our Indians. However everything passed off satisfactorily, so that on Sunday 26<sup>th</sup> we could continue our journey.

We were now 140 souls distributed in four Kentucky boats, three barges, and several canoes. The party in our barge consisted of Mr Henry Vanderburgh, a merchant and the judge of Post Vincennes. We had not proceeded a great distance when game of various kinds was visible. What strikes the traveller most pleasantly here are the majestic Lombardy poplars growing on the shores of the Ohio, and under whose shadows the buffaloes hide from the summer's heat.

(To be continued.)